1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

789 twice more. A general feast closes the ceremony, and
796 next day the first ploughings are done, the Kurumba
sowing the first seeds, and the priests the next lot.
(241) Finally, a net is brought. The priest of the temple,
standing over it, puts up prayers for a favourable agricul-
796 tural season; two fowls are thrown into it, and a pretence
782 is made of spearing them; and then it is taken and put
across some game path, and some wild animal (a sāmbhar
deer if possible) is driven into it, slain, and divided
among the villagers. This same custom of annually
killing a sāmbhar is also observed at other villages on
the plateau, and in 1883 and 1894 special orders were
passed to permit of its being done during the close
789 season. Latterly, disputes about precedence in the matter
of walking through the fire at Mēlūr have been carried
796 as far as the civil courts, and the two factions celebrate
(578) the festival separately in alternate years. A fire-walking
ceremony also takes place annually at the Jadayasvāmi
temple in Jakkanēri under the auspices of a Sivāchāri
(231) Badaga. It seems to have originally had some connec-
tion with agricultural prospects, as a young bull is made
to go partly across the fire-pit before the other devotees,
and the owners of young cows which have had their
first calves during the year take precedence of others
in the ceremony, and bring offerings of milk, which are
sprinkled over the burning embers."

796 At the Sakalathi festival, in the month of October,
(824) Badagas, towards evening, throw on the roofs of their
houses flowers of *Plectranthus Wightii*, *Crotalaria obtecta*,
Lobelia nicotianæfolia, *Achyranthes aspera*, and *Leucas*
aspera. On the following day, they clean their houses,
and have a feast. In the afternoon, numbers of them
may be seen in the streets drawing in front of their
houses pictures in wood-ashes of buffaloes, bulls, cows,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Kota Products and Services

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The Kota friend was traditionally the only source for a Badaga's metal goods. The items which Kotas have regularly manufactured in their smithies, first from local iron ore and later from imported scrap metal, were various kinds of knives (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 8), adzes, crowbars, pickaxes, sickles, hoes, axes, hammers, iron cooking basins, skillets and ploughshares; and formerly they also produced stirrups, horse-bits, bows and iron-tipped arrows. Kotas were once gold- and silversmiths to the Badagas, too, and still occasionally supply them with metal ornaments. In addition to manufacturing this variety of articles, Kota partners were expected to repair them when necessary. Now they are normally given cash for any repair work done.

A second category of products over which the Kotas formerly held the monopoly is that of leather. Although not even members of the highest Badaga phratries object to handling leather goods, only the Kotas have applied themselves to the polluting task of converting buffalo hides into leather articles. The goods they have regularly prepared are horse saddles and bridles, leather ropes for ploughs and tethers (Metz, 1864, 131–132; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7), leather nets used in trapping, and possibly sandals and water bags. It is worth remarking that while Badagas do not find it polluting to handle the leather on drums, they do consider it demeaning to play Kota drums; hence such instruments have never been sought from the Kotas.

Pottery is a further item over which the Kotas held the local monopoly until this century. Archaeological evidence which I collected indicates that several centuries ago the two hamlets of the Kumba:ras, a tiny Badaga phratry located on the northern edge of the plateau, were producing many kinds of wheel-made pottery. But since that time pot production has been entirely in the hands of Kota women who, it is said, had initially learnt this art from some Kumba:ras. Items which they have regularly supplied to the Badagas include household and dairy vessels, oil lamps and clay smoking-pipes. Unlike any other Kota manufactures their new pots are put through quite an elaborate purificatory ritual by Badagas before coming into daily use.[6]

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The Kota partner was also a maker of leaf-umbrellas and of a wooden device not unlike a nutcracker which Badagas use for castrating their young bulls. A curious item with which Kotas must

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

175 657 having their head-quarters in the towns, who were responsible for the patrolling of the main routes, the suppression of organized crime, and the realization of the land revenue. So long as it was paid, and so long as there was no disturbance of the peace endangering the general security or outbreaks of crime preventing the safe passage of travellers and merchandise, the villages were left to manage their own affairs, with headmen and councils of elders to try their petty cases and village watchmen to prevent petty crime.

120 A detailed account of the economy up to the year 1830 (when a large part of the plateau was transferred to Coimbatore to the Malabar administration) can be reconstructed from several reports, mainly British.[6] These provide us with a list of Badaga produce which can be amended slightly by modern informants.

175 241 The main items[7] cultivated by Badagas in the early nineteenth century were wheat, barley, panic-seed, the Italian, finger and slender millets, poppy, prince's feather, mustard seed, black gram, field peas, chick pea or Bengal gram, pepper, rose-mallow seeds; garlic, onion, fenugreek, country bean, pumpkin and gourd.

175 (231) The main animal products in this period were cow and buffalo milk, clarified butter (made more by Todas than by Badagas), hides (prepared by Kotas from Badaga animals), bullocks used in ploughing and threshing, and a few large poultry. No sheep were kept, though Finicio and Birch had noticed goats in the hills (Finicio, 1603, 723; Keys, 1812, li; Birch, 1836, 103).

Materials gathered from the jungle included kitchen fuel, honey, bees-wax, hay, wild flax, gentian, sandalwood, rattan cane and black dammer or resin.

175 439 The items usually imported and exported by Badagas are also known from these same sources. The imports were coarse cloth, salt, tobacco, iron bars for the Kota blacksmith (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 8), coarse sugar made from a palm sap, trinkets and coinage.

Exports included wheat, barley, some superior millets, bales of millet and barley hay and wild flax (all used for fodder), poppy capsules and opium, honey, bees-wax, garlic, onion, mustard seed, pepper, fenugreek, gentian, rose-mallow seed, clarified butter, sandalwood, hides, cane—and coinage paid in land taxes to an official at Dannaika Ko:te.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

Plate Section

361 Plate 1 A typical Badaga hamlet (Dimbaṭṭi), above the valley floor but sheltered by a hill from the south-west monsoons. Note the strips of land running downhill. The well in the foreground is new.

342 Plate 2 Typical work-space (ke:ri) in front of houses in Ka:ṯe:ri. The two-story house is a twentieth-century innovation. The poles carry electricity to most houses.

291 Plate 3 A Toda couple, both wearing embroidered shawls (pu:txuḻy).

301 643 Plate 4 Pāda Rāja Gowder, paramount chief of the Badagas since 1956, and headman of Tu:ne:ri. His gold earrings are of a traditional design.

302 877 Plate 5 Two schoolgirls carrying their lunch, O:ranaṛi hamlet. Both have an auspicious mark on the brow.

302 759 Plate 6 Sithamma, grandmother of the girls in Plate 5; she lived in O:ranayi, was a traditional Lingayat, and a noted herbal therapist. Her gold ornaments are traditional.

600 Plate 7 Kumba:ras in Kempola hamlet, here enshrouded in mist.

177 764 Plate 8 Kotas from Kolmel playing for Lingayats dancing during a funeral at the neighbouring hamlet of O:ranayi, 1963. Women do not dance in public.

243 231 Plate 9 Cattle threshing grain on a work-space in O:ranayi. The hired labourers are non-Badagas.

496 291 Plate 10 Women's work-group outside a house in Ki:ṛkunda village. All wear sarees in place of the traditional dress.

778 782 Plate 11 The Goddess Hette with bell, a wreathed *linga*, and a tray with plantain and half-coconut offerings, decorating a Lingayat temple in Ka:ṯe:ri.

Plate 12 Council of elders at Ke:ti village. The commune headman is on the extreme left, in white.

[p. 25]

423 432

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

A ritual is not a network, but it is a medium of communication and provides an occasion for the personnel of all the networks of the village to converge in one place and act out their public roles. Ceremonial events are thus events of communication in two distinct senses. First, the confluence of people allows many local information networks to be reactivated; someone asks about getting a loan, another seeks opinions on a land dispute, a third takes a look at some potential brides. Second, the ritual itself conveys information to the participants. As we shall demonstrate, this message is a dramatization of the idea that the community is stable and its future assured.

The Todas, Kotas, and Badagas, three communities on the Nilgiri Plateau[1] in Southern India, are all cattle-keepers. For the Todas buffalo herding is the major occupation; for the Badagas it is subsidiary to agriculture; and for the Kotas it is subsidiary to both agriculture and a variety of traditional handicrafts. Each of these groups now keeps cattle only for their milk products, though until several decades ago the Badagas and Kotas also used oxen for drawing their ploughs.[2] Each group gives salt to its herds once or more a year and each culture has a complex ceremonial for feeding the salt to the cattle.

Confining ourselves to the Badagas,[3] we now ask a question that would in fact be equally pertinent to the case of the Todas or the Kotas: why is the giving of salt a day-long ceremony instead of merely a routine act of animal husbandry? Why are so many people and so much time involved in what a single boy could do in half an hour? The Badagas themselves would answer this question by invoking the "force of tradition"; but surely tradition is not *per se* an adequate explanation for the persistence of such a ceremony. The Badagas also maintain what is to them a perfectly rational explanation for the act of giving salt to their cattle. After heavy rains the young grass "tastes saltless," and the herds graze unenthusiastically; their owners make up this dietary deficiency by giving salt to the animals. The explanation suggests that these people understand something of the leaching process, but it certainly does not answer our original question: why has the act of salt-giving become a major annual ceremony?

Salt is regularly given to the cattle in March and at the end of December; in years when the grass is "saltless" a third dosage is given, generally in the month of June. On all three occasions the salt is given to the animals on a Monday, the weekly holiday of the Badagas, but it is only in March that the event is treated ceremonially.[4]

In the various writings abut the Badagas during the past 150 years there are only two brief references (Benbow 1928: 32-33; Karl 1945: 17), both fairly recent, to this salt-giving ceremony. Nevertheless it seems certain that the ceremony has a considerable antiquity; the comparable Toda ceremony was mentioned by Father Finicio in 1603 (Rivers 1906: 726). The Badagas did not become literate until the present century, yet they have an extensive and generally credible body of orally transmitted history relating to their way of life in the days shortly before the British settled in the Nilgiri Hills (i.e., prior to 1820). These Badaga accounts are explicit about

basket and goes to the bank of the stream, facing toward the sun. In one hand he holds a pot. The rest of the men do likewise, taking care to stand downstream from the leader. Each has a handful of salt and a pot, and each wears a cotton shawl which leaves the entire right arm bare.

The leader (usually prompted in a whisper by some one else who knows it better) then pronounces the following prayer (pausing at the end of each line, whereupon the rest of the party repeats the last word in lieu of saying the entire line over):

O Lord [Swami], we today celebrate things as our
fathers, grandfathers and forefathers have done.
Old is not new, and new is not old [i.e., old things
are not neglected, nor new things added].
Whatever we sow, may it grow more than ninefold.
Whichever female cattle conceive, may they give us
plenty of milk.
Whatever we put on the threshing ground, may it not be
wasted [i.e., may all the grain reach the store
without mishap].
O God, may the cow or young buffalo be impregnated by
the male just after getting its second teeth.
Just before getting its fourth teeth, may its calf walk.
May the house be filled with children, and may the pen
be filled with cattle.
Let everything be good. *Hau hau!*

The prayer is uttered in this fashion three times. At the end of the second recital the men shout *"hau hau"* twice, and at the end of the third they shout it at least three times, in expression of their happiness.

As the final words of this prayer are uttered, each man stoops beside the stream, still with his salt in one hand and pot in the other. He mixes the salt in the running water and catches some of this saline solution in the pot.

The leader then takes his pot of brine and pours it into the pit that he dug. The other men follow suit. Then all the cows and oxen, but not the buffaloes, are driven to the pits to drink. When the animals have emptied a pit, more water is thrown in and further salt added without additional ceremony. Only after the cows and oxen wander away from these pits are the buffaloes finally allowed their drink of brine. A few of the men then refill their pots with water and pour it over the backs of the animals "to cool them."

When this phase of the proceedings is completed, each man fills his pot with water again and then sits down in the grass nearby. At this point one or two Todas, who have been waiting for this moment, come forward and approach each Badaga in turn. The Badagas give most of the salt remaining in their baskets to these Toda friends.

After this, one of the Badagas goes to a dewberry bush and cuts off a branch. This is regarded as a ritual, and is done with a small knife made by

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

121 the stream, the cattle shed, and the hearth. Furthermore, the participants in
796 this ceremony do all they can to insure that they are in a state of purity, and that they do nothing to cause a mishap during this particular day.

783 Let us now examine these points in more detail. The requirements of ritual purity and bodily cleanliness are a *sine qua non* for the performance of any ceremony. If a man does not approach the gods with the knowledge that he has done all that he can to be in a pure state, he has little hope that
175 his prayers will be answered. In pre-British days, when the salt had to be purchased in the plains below, it received special treatment from the mo-
437 ment of purchase onward to insure that it would not become polluted
439 before the ceremony. The men who were to carry the salt up the mountain slopes were not to carry anything else; contact with ordinary foodstuffs
783 would pollute this particular salt. The annual trading expeditions were normally timed so as to fall a few weeks before the salt-giving ceremony. Nowadays a Badaga simply buys his own salt in the town market and brings it home without special ritual precautions.

• 231 High in the roof of each cattle shed are shelves on which various dairy
778 articles are stored. The man who brings the salt home is supposed to take it straight to the cattle shed and place it on one of these shelves; he must not
783 bring it directly into his house, even though he will later have to do so when the ceremony is about to begin. It is felt that the salt would become polluted in the house if it were brought into an unpurified room where sexual activity has occurred. The cattle shed, though not considered a temple like the Toda dairy, is a pure and sacred place because milk is stored
783 there. When the salt is finally brought into each purified house for powdering, it is whisked around the mortar with the help of a freshly cut twig
796 of wild *'hubbe* (also used for loosening any salt that remains on the bottom of the basket). The Badagas have two kinds of broom, one for indoor use
(824) and one for outside; but both are considered impure because of what they have come in contact with, and so cannot be used for sweeping the salt
(412) around while it is being powdered. The used part of the *'hubbe* branch is
(783) thrown away after this, and the unused remainder is placed on top of the salt. From the time of purchase onward, this salt is always carried in a special basket kept only for this purpose.

783 It is not only the salt that must be kept in a ritually pure state; the man selected to perform the ceremony on behalf of each household is also under certain restrictions. From the day of the new moon until after the salt has been given to the cattle this man must not shave, have sexual relations, cut his finger or toe nails, or stay overnight anywhere other than in his own home. By observing all these prohibitions he is believed to build
(765) up a state of personal purity. (Were a man to cut his hair and shave, it would suggest he had recently attended a funeral and was still in the inauspicious state of mourning for a deceased relative.) The culmination of this spiritual preparation comes on the night preceding the ceremony, when he must sleep alone on a sack on the earthen floor, wearing cotton and without any other bedding.

(356) Early the following morning the house has to be purified too. After the

3: Hockings: E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
ANSO Badaga ANSO

when the men stand beside the stream, for it is important that he stand upstream of everyone else so that the water he uses will be purer than that taken by the others (since it is untouched by their hands). While this ceremony is being performed it is also important that no one present, even a headman, wear a turban. The head of each participant must be bare in deference to the leader. When the men are ready to pour brine into the pits they must wait until the leader has done so. And when finally water is poured into their cattle pens the man from the Great House must again be the first to do so.

The prayer, led by this man, is spoken three times. When each participant returns home he is asked three times whether the cattle have drunk well; he answers three times in the affirmative; then a woman hangs up three sprigs from the ceiling. Badagas believe that performing any ritual act thrice makes it especially efficacious.

The foregoing acts, all aimed at insuring an auspicious atmosphere during the ceremony, are but a backdrop to the real business of the day: the expression of hope and gratitude to cattle, friends, and nature.

Man's indebtedness to his cattle is expressed on this occasion not only by feeding them salt (which they are thought to enjoy); often when the cattle are being brought together in the hamlet before being taken to the salt pits they are washed and decked with garlands. After they have drunk their fill of brine it is believed that they feel intoxicated, and so the owners pour water over the backs of the animals to cool them. During the afternoon the only work men are permitted to do outside is to make the cattle sheds more comfortable by cleaning or repairing them.

Man's dependence upon wild plants is also given expression during this ceremony. We have already mentioned the use of *'hubbe* as a brush. A part of it is also used for sweeping out loose dirt when the pits are dug. This used piece is thrown away, but a sprig of *'hubbe* is still kept on top of the salt and is later carried back to the house. Along with this *'hubbe*, sprigs of two thorn bushes are carried in the basket. When the man has entered his home, these three sprigs are hung from the ceiling. They indicate to the household that the ceremony has been completed without mishap, that the family has participated in the occasion, that the house has been purified, and that hopes for the future are bright. The value of wild plants is also recalled at this time; both thorn bushes (the dewberry and the hill gooseberry) are a favorite source of sweet, edible fruits. In addition, the wood of the hill gooseberry is very strong, and in earlier days served as material for walking-sticks. It still has an important religious role, as it is used for making ritual fire by friction. The axle in a Badaga's household grindstone is also made of this wood, and the buds and leaves of the hill gooseberry are used in a common medicine for constipation.

As the men walk home behind the man from the Great House they continuously chant *"hau hau," "e: hau hau," "ho: hau hau,"* or *"hau ko."* Every one of these interjections is an expression of happiness. Each participant is careful to enter his house with the right foot crossing the

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Cōimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

7. Called *'uppu kuk'ke*, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

8. The term *'hubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

one aspect of their presumed "familiarity with learning," if we may call it that, they gained a reputation as exorcists and curers. Today some among the couple of thousand Kaṇakkas still practise these crafts, although they no longer hold a monopoly among the Badagas. (My chief medical informant, K. Sithamma, was born in a Kaṇakka family in 1891.)

1.6. During the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries the Badaga community increased from a reported three villages in 1603 to nearly 370 villages a century ago. This expansion, marking the second phase, encompassed some developments of importance to the history of Badaga therapy. The community was faced with the problem of adapting to a new geographic and social environment, and clearly succeeded in doing so. We may presume that natural selection helped the population build up a genetic resistance to whatever montane illnesses had not previously affected the people when they were living in Mysore; and that some lowland disease organisms were no longer able to survive at the new elevation, either because it was too high and cold for their animal hosts, or else because the hosts among the scattered and tiny human population died off without transferring these organisms to new hosts, or more probably because when the density of population was very low infection by particular diseases summoned forth antibodies or other disease-resistant aptitudes, which protected their descendants from any further infection by those diseases. As the settlements expanded the increasing numbers of people permitted greater transference of disease organisms and called for greater amounts of health care; but at the same time these settlements, located in most parts of the Nilgiri Massif within a zone that lay between 4000 and 7300 feet of elevation, gave people opportunities to select the more healthy residential sites, to explore the micro-environmental differences in the area, and most importantly to discover medicinal uses for dozens of new species of plants that were in many instances confined to the Massif (see Trilingual Index). We may presume that the pharmacological uses of local plants were discovered by Badaga women who worked as goatherds and men working as cowherds, by closely observing the feeding habits of their animals. Geza Roheim has made a similar observation on the control that Australian Aboriginal women have over the medicinal use of plants which they are responsible for gathering. While it is true that Badagas did not keep

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

goats recently, they did so during the seventeenth century and even later (Finicio 1603: 723; Birch 1838:103).

1.7. After contact with the British a new adjustment with their changed environment was achieved by the Badagas, and their population was able to increase rapidly for several decades while there was still a very low density of population. One relevant factor, I would hypothesize, was that a change in their drinking habits followed the arrival of the British (from 1819 onward), and that this was associated with greater resistance to bacteria in the drinking water. The main drinks of the community at the time were fresh milk and stream water: "...at midday, or towards evening, parties of them are often to be seen seated on the bank of some brook or rill, partaking of their simple fare, which generally consists of barley or other meal, mixed up with some of the pure element that is gurgling past them, a little salt, and a little chilly" (Harkness 1832: 111; so also Young 1827: 42, Birch 1838:103, and Dulles 1835: 465-66). Two British officials, one a surgeon, make it clear that until the 1830s the Badagas had no alcohol, and "drunkenness is unknown here" (Macpherson 1820: lix; Ainslie 1834: 36). But the surgeon had already in 1829 recorded that he had "tasted very tolerable specimens of beer which had been brewed on these hills from malt of Native Manufacture" (Price 1908: 218). Within another two decades a staggering change had come about:

> Lord Tweeddale...in 1847,...stated that he had never anywhere seen such widespread and continuous drunkenness amongst low-class natives as prevailed there [the Nilgiri town of Ootacamund], not only in the case of those resident, but also in that of peons, followers, and servants, brought up from Madras and other places. The drink at this time available was...arrack, which ...was not very expensive. (Price 1908: 51)

This drunkenness was more of an urban than a rural phenomenon, although some Badagas did go to the town to indulge themselves. Meanwhile, at the same time that beer and arrack were becoming available, so were tea and coffee. These hot drinks were generally preferred by the Badagas to stream water, because of the cool climate, even though they had a religious tabu against heating milk (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 247). In this latter regard, I was told that if one keeps milk in a warm place it will "boil up" of its own accord

4 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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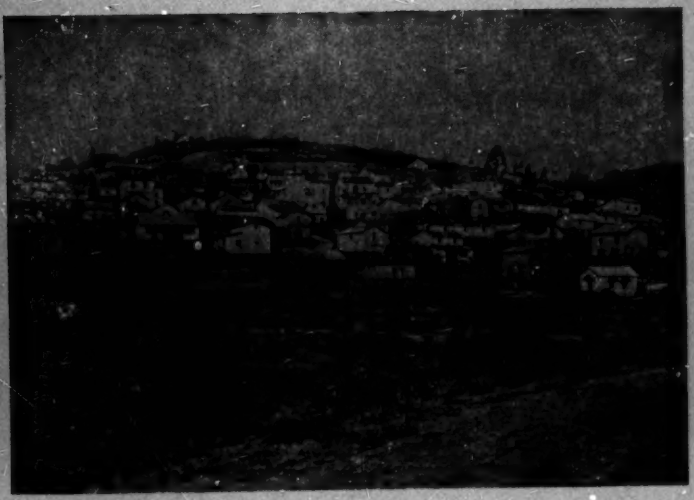

Ka:te:ri, a representative village

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A work-yard in O:rannyi village

231 592 Nearly every family owns a few buffaloes, and the more affluent also have good European breeds of cow. Until the Second World War it was normal for buffaloes and oxen to be 178 492 used in plowing; but in recent years the fragmentation of land holdings and the terracing of slopes have made the plow superfluous, as such small plots can only be worked by manual labor (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249).

178 463 The shortage of farmland during the present century has caused some Badagas to look to other occupations. Today there are several hundred college graduates employed in law, medicine, education and government. Such people usually work in the towns, and preferably in the Nilgiris; but wherever possible they continue to live in their natal villages.

184 The Badagas embrace four quite distinguishable sub-cultures. These can be identified as:

1) The (non-Lingayat) Śaivites, who form about 90 percent of the entire community;

2) The Lingayats, a small but influential minority;

3) The Christian converts, who are considered Badagas in a court of law but regard themselves as separate from, and are treated as a distinct and inferior caste by, the other Badagas;

4) The Wynaad Gaudas, a peripheral minority of Badagas who have lived for two or three centuries in eight widely separated villages of the Wynaad Plateau, and are now culturally closer to the Wynaad Chettis [101] than to the Hill Badagas. We shall not be concerned with them in this study.

615 Apart from these distinctions, the Hill Badagas (nos. 1 and 2 in the above list) divided into a number of jati-like social groups -- we are calling them

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

B Ko 463 B [77]

basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, hide curers, potters, and musicians. Badagas worked as laborers when Englishmen started living on the Nilgiris, but have increasingly obtained clerical and professional employment. Badagas and Kotas use seasonal livestock centers to graze herds of buffaloes and cattle on the temperate grasslands. The Badagas have established a sacred buffalo herd and dairy-temple at Bergani (Figure 1). Through the cooperation of employed Kasuvas, they also manage to keep buffaloes and cattle in the Mysore Ditch (Figure 2).

B Ko 231 [648]

Excluding some Badagas dwelling in dispersed houses, Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad occupy hamlets. Both depend upon rice grown in wet fields. There are assorted gardens near their houses, and the Badagas grow millets on upland dry fields. As on the upper Nilgiris, Kotas are differentiated from the Badagas by their trades. Some Badagas labor on nearby plantations.

B Ko 184 241 361 B [164]

2. The Philosophic Base

B 121

The premise. The interpretive approach employed in following chapters is based on the premise that members of a small culture who occupy a similar environment will repeatedly adjust and utilize the landscape in a set pattern, or in set patterns, conforming to their needs and technological capacities. Because the members are conformists, they build similar occupance forms, arrange the forms in the same fashion, and use the landscape about their dwellings according to the economy related to their culture. Adjustments to environments by members of many small cultures, therefore, result in typically

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Toda AW60

B T 171 prosperity. Badagas also turned to horizontal transhumance motivated by seasonal variations in rainfall. Their temporarily used western livestock centers are called hundis. In the Mysore Ditch, north of the Nilgiri massif (Figures 1 and 2), the Badagas found another B 231 exploitable niche. Badaga livestock kept there all year are cared [361] for by Kasuvas. Livestock centers with house types occupied by [648] Kasuvas are related to the symbiotic Badaga-Kasuva relationship. Although agricultural Kotas may have inhabited the upper Nilgiris Ko 231 for over a millennium, only a few residents from Kirgoj graze buffaloes out of temporarily inhabited livestock centers on the temperate grasslands.

B 121 128 The following steps guide narration in this and later chapters: Generalized outlines of occupance patterns (equated with varying ways in which men have occupied landscapes) are followed by data relating to distinctive dwellings and sacred structures (occupance forms) labeled types. Discussion then shifts to economic activities altering landscapes around occupance sites to the greatest degree. Other economic activities altering landscapes to either a lesser or negligible degree are then discussed. Discourse turns to trades and services generated by members of the group under consideration and leading to economic intercourse with outsiders. Lastly, employment in economies generated by outsiders is considered. If a step is not applicable, it is omitted. In the case of Badaga, Kadaga-Kasuva, and Kota occupance patterns described in this chapter, narration does not move beyond economic activities altering landscapes to a marked degree.

Because Nilgiri pastoralists have played such a vital role in

24B
231

Pl. 9

[following p. 248-I]

857 during festive occasions. Badaga women frequently, sometimes daily,
796 wash over sections fronting their houses with cowdung solution to keep
535 the courtyards flattened out and cleansed. Low earthen or stone walls
956 edging courtyards define property limits and add to the privacy of
house inhabitants living within house-rows immediately below. Badaga
351 women sometimes store firewood or keep flower gardens on the wall tops,
but they are usually grass covered.

Separate shrines and temples stand in communities or on grassy
968 plots outside. Some Badagas own storage huts where agricultural
implements, fertilizer, seed-potatoes, and agricultural produce are
366 stored. Small coffee, tea, and supply shops are increasing in number
within Badaga villages. Hot beverages, as well as hotmeats, sweetmeats,
rice, and curry, are served in the coffee and tea shops. From supply
shops are obtained cigarettes, matches, grains, pulses, and vegetables.
Areca nut, betel leaf, lime, and perhaps tobacco, which are combined
and chewed, are also sold. Blacksmiths, building and supply contrac-
tors, carpenters, jewellers, and other entrepreneurs have established
968 businesses in Badaga villages. A single government office, or combin-
ation of offices such as panchayat, police, post, and telegraph offices
may also be present. Church or government schools are now located in
or near many communities.

Hamlets and villages still have circular cattle-pens built in
231 natural depressions or enclosed with stone walls, but cattle-hut con-
[361] struction is slowly leading to abandonment of the pens. Goats and
sheep are kept at night on raised platforms within goat- and sheep-
(654) huts. Monetary inducements offered by the Madras Government have

caused some rearers of livestock to start keeping compost pits. In each hamlet or village there is usually a grassy clearing or raised platform where male representatives meet and Badagas gather to chit-chat. A large tree (often a Ficus sp.) may shade this meeting place. Some Badaga women still must fetch water from nearby springs or streams, but many Badaga hamlets and villages now have water piped to faucets set near house-rows. A burial-cremation center is within easy walking distance from each Badaga community. Most Badaga communities have roads running to or through them, and a fair number of these roads are asphalted. Scheduled buses run over some roads, and a few Badagas now drive individually or jointly owned cars, buses, station wagons, and trucks.

Houses. Prior to 1840 the Badagas lived in a house type with front porches and two rooms separated by a wall with a door. A small front door led into one room, and there was a fireplace in the other darker room. Thatched roofs were supported by posts, and walls made with bamboos or reeds woven between the posts were then daubed. However, some houses had clay and stone walls (Harkness 1832: 36; Birch 1838: 103; Hough 1829: 89). According to data obtained by Jagor (1876: 193-194), each thatched clay and stone house in an examined house-row had an entranceway leading on the right to a front room. This room had a right side storage platform and a mortar built into the floor on the left. From the front room a door led to a bathroom extending the full width of the house, and another door led to a kitchen paralleling the front room. The fireplace for cooking was

located across from the latter door. At the right of each entranceway there was a low porch and to the left a low porch and small stall, or a stall only. Buffalo calves were sheltered in each stall. The entranceway and features to right or left of it were protected by the single side-gabled roof covering all houses within the row.

By 1870 some houses were whitewashed; by 1880 whitewashing was a more widespread practice and house roofs were being tiled; by 1895 sleeping platforms made from broad and thick planks were replacing interior storage platforms; and by 1935 most Badaga houses had brick or stone walls, tiled roofs, and sleeping platforms (Shortt 1868: 58; Grigg et al. 1880: 225; Sastri 1892: 757; Ranga 1934: 5). However, despite these and other changes, the Badaga house type as described by Jagor and others remains essentially the same (Figure 18). Most houses now have whitewashed brick walls, and roofs are commonly made with sawn timbers, corrugated iron sheets, and tiles. Front entranceways may be located to the right or left. If there is a right entranceway, a sleeping platform replacing the storage platform mentioned by Jagor will be against the right wall of the front room. A mortar in the floor and rotary quern (usually present) will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other features within the house will be arranged accordingly. If there is a left entranceway, a sleeping platform will be against the left wall, mortar and rotary quern will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other interior features will accordingly be reversed from left to right. The room for bathing (himbara) no longer runs all the way across the back, but is located behind the front room (ithamanai). The open doorway

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

243 may be removed through hand threshing by women with threshing-sticks.
251 Finger millet is dried in the sun until individual grains crack when crushed between one's teeth. It is stored away after winnowing and may be kept for years without spoiling. Underground storage pits for finger millet are no longer in general use. After barley and wheat heads are removed, they are dried in the sun. Women, working on courtyards, use threshing-sticks to thresh the grain. Following further sun-drying and winnowing, grain is ready for storage.

231 (175) Livestock. From the early 1800s Badagas have reared chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, and sheep (Keys 1812: 11; Birch 1838: 103-105). They never keep pigs, and chickens are not commonly reared.
262 Because of close ties between bulls and Lord Shiva, the Saivite Badagas are not beef eaters. Mutton is eaten more than any other meat, so
234 goats and sheep are kept as a meat supply. Milk processing into curds,
462 butter, buttermilk, and clarified butter had been carried out by men in the sacred hagotun within houses. Only one to a few families in
231 each community now own livestock, and sometimes a single male within a family will take care of the livestock. There are a few families which
231 depend almost entirely on sale of mutton, milk, and milk products for
434 a livelihood. Most, however, use livestock as a supplementary income source, or to obtain meat and milk for home consumption.

231 Religious ties between Badagas and their buffaloes or cattle,
771 as demonstrated at Bergani, are also present in communities. Monday,
796 Lord Shiva's day and a holiday, is a day sacred to the herd. In former times oxen were not worked and cows were not milked on this

231 day, but only the most devout follow this practice now (Harkness 1832:
771 114-115). In January, shortly before goddess Masthi Hethai is honored
796 at Bergani, the Badagas celebrate Martu Pongal. Courtyards fronting
[351] houses are swept and freshly cowdunged. Women and children then decorate the courtyards with kitchen ash or powdered lime (Plate X, E). Before each house a square with diagonal lines is outlined. After the decorations have been completed, a priest leads a cow through the village from house to house. When the cow stops at each house, it is fed a flatcake made with millet, rice, or wheat and served on a platter placed in the center of the above-mentioned square (Plate X, F). Household women bow to the ground as the cow eats. After it has eaten and had its mouth washed off, the cow is led to the next house. Some time later a calf led around in the same fashion receives similar treatment at each house. Finally, community families feast upon flatcakes served with sugar or curry.

174 Hunting. Although writers have not referred to the Badagas as
241 hunters, there is some evidence that they were. Past practices are
796 probably preserved in more recent ritual. Among other acts connected
[174] with the opening of the main agricultural season at Melur, Francis (1908: 339) recorded that a hunting net was laid before a Badaga priest. After the priest had prayed for a favorable agricultural season, a pretense was made of spearing two fowls which had been thrown into the net, and it was then placed across a game path. A wild animal (sambar deer, if possible) driven into the net was slain, and Badagas
174 divided its carcass among themselves. In July, 1963, a few Badaga men
224

351 and house floors is not only an ancient Hindu custom, but a useful
356 one in that it helps keep termites away.

243 Rice is everywhere the predominant food crop, and wet rice production is concentrated in broad valley bottoms (Plate XII, A). As a result, valley sides are seldom terraced. All Badaga houses, 361 whether they be within nucleated centers or scattered around, are located on hillsides or hilltops next to lower-lying wet rice fields. Women thus have to fetch water from streams in the valleys below. (343) Occasionally, small huts or shelters (pandals) for storage or work are erected near houses. Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas do not build temples 368 in house-rows, but do construct temples in separate worship centers with pagoda trees. After the single wet rice harvest, buffaloes and • 231 a few cattle are kept at night in periodically shifted circular bamboo pens erected on dried fields. While rice is growing, the same livestock are housed nightly in huts with no set form located at some distance from dwellings. Threshing floors and stacked hay lie near 241 dwellings. Most houses are surrounded by multilayer gardens which offer cooling shade during each dry season and protection against torrential rain with high winds during the rainy monsoon seasons. Close to houses there may also be small kitchen gardens or single layer gardens. Scattered dry fields on hills are located near or at 231 some distance from houses. Livestock (goats and sheep were not seen by me) are grazed on 1) rice stubble left after each rice harvest, 2) grasses growing over dry fields untilled for some time, 3) grasses within nearby degenerate dry and moist deciduous forest or bamboo 368 thickets, and 4) savannas. In the area associated with each community

an entranceway may be placed on either its left or right side. In addition to the front door, a rear or side door is also included. A chicken coop is sometimes built on the veranda, and a large grain basket, quern, firewood, or other objects may be stored there. In house interiors, through placement of storage baskets or dividing wall construction, a left kitchen side may be visibly differentiated from the right living area and sleeping side. If there is no visible reminder, occupants simple remember that such a division exists. As there is no sleeping platform, household members sleep on mats spread over the floor each night. The kitchen fireplace is located next to the center of the left wall, and there is sometimes a large circular drying basket suspended over it. An upper storage platform extending over the warmer kitchen side is reached by a ladder.

A Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga temple may outwardly be constructed somewhat like a house (Figure 23). The Devala temple has no inner or outer posts, so squared wooden rafters are attached to wall plates and an emplaced ridgepiece. The hipped roof is tiled. Inside the temple there are two large stone bulls (Manthis) and an altar next to the center of the rear wall. Temples of a distinctive type serving as worship centers to Badagas and their neighbors have square bases, grilled woodwork in side walls, and pyramidal roofs plated with copper sheets (Plate XII, C). In each temple's interior there is a walled room holding a deity's image, a ceremonial knife, and other ritualistic paraphernalia. Smaller shrines with similar appearance (Plate XII, D) have platforms in their central interiors. The sacred structures with pyramidal roofs are identified with so-called Chinese temples in

243 In field preparation, natural vegetation which has spread into fallow fields is cleared, dried, and burned. Ashes are then spread over the earth. If available, livestock dung is applied. Soil is loosened by periodic plowings with a plow drawn by a single team or by several teams drawing plows simultaneously. Earth clods are broken with hoes and hoe-forks, and the same implements are used to work broadcast seed (221) into the soil. Sowing takes place mainly in June and July, so that harvesting will occur during a period of declining rainfall in October, November, and December. Finger millet is commonly grown, and little (241) millet is occasionally cultivated. Mustard may be mixed with the grain crop, and in one field I saw there were pumpkin vines growing over termite hills. Some fields are quite neglected, and others are weeded to varying degrees. In harvesting, sickles are used to remove grain heads. When finger millet is harvested, the grain heads are first processed in the same way that upper Nilgiri Badagas process them. (251) Grain is stored after being trampled out by buffaloes or cattle and dried in the sun. Men are responsible for heavy work in field preparation, plowing, sowing, and care of livestock trampling out grain. 243 462 Women, aided sometimes by children, do most of the other work associated with dry field cultivations.

Wet rice cultivation. During the dry season, after livestock 243 have eaten remaining rice stubble, exposed soils on fields become (231) hardened and cracked in the sun's heat. Livestock penned on changed (221) locations help fertilize the earth. Starting in April, after some mango showers have loosened field surfaces, the men prepare a few

B 243 are planted together each time, and small clumps are spaced about nine inches to one foot apart. The amount of weeding performed by women B [462] and children before or after rice is transplanted depends upon the [857] individuals concerned, but some weeding is usually done. As rice ripens, watch-huts built on stilts amidst fields or on hill slopes nearby are occupied in shifts by men, women, or children who make noises to drive B [221] away animals and birds. Harvesting takes place mainly in January, but rice is also harvested in December and February. Grain removal is facilitated by the fields drying up before harvesters, mainly women, B [482] start working with sickles. Cut rice stalks are carried in headloads by men and women to threshing floors near the houses. Muzzled bulls are strung together and forced to walk abreast around posts rising from threshing floors. Grain on hay laid beneath the bulls' feet is thus slowly threshed out. Months later, other grain is threshed in like manner from straw piled on stilted platforms or straw heaped about B [251] poles rising near threshing floors. Sun-dried grain is stored within [231] large grain baskets or wooden chests placed in homes. The remaining threshed straw is fed to livestock or used for thatching.

B 463 434 439 Additional income. As far back as 1881 the Badagas were working on neighboring plantations, and a fair number of males are presently employed on plantations (Jennings 1881: 60). A few Badagas obtain income by selling milk to coffee and tea shops in nearby villages.

2. The Kotas

Ko 342 Most Kotas at Kalac, Gudalur, live in eight houses with brick

7: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1987
AW50 Badaga AW50

· 37 · *The Man Named Unige Mada (Nilgiri Hills, Tamilnadu)*

539 This next tale preserves some of the oral storytelling style of a folk bard and thus has a special grammatical flavor worthy of note. It comes from the Nilgiri Hills and was told by a Badaga.
648 These people represent one of several important communities who have long resided in this anthropologically well-known district of Tamilnadu. These, plus a few other groups, together form a relatively isolated caste-like system. However, this whole population is so small and distinctive that it is generally called tribal. The Todu group stands at the top of this hierarchy and are the priests and buffalo keepers. Next come the Badaga who are farmers, and under them are the Kurumba who are sorcerers, and then the Kota, who are known as artisans and musicians.

539 The following story depicts a Kurumba who came to a Badaga in a time of need, and eventually became his dependent. In this sense it serves as a kind of origin tale for traditional Badaga-Kurumba social relations. It also portrays the Badaga as
• (231) keepers of fine buffalo herds. Buffalo ownership is often linked to the status claims of the Todas, even though many Badaga own such animals too. In this sense the present tale also asserts the wealth of the Badaga community vis-à-vis the ritual importance of buffalo for the Todas. However, since no reference is made to the highly important Kota group, it is clear that the tale of Unige Mada stops short of providing a general charter for
(533) Nilgiri society. This Badaga tale would normally be told in the form of a narrative song. It would be sung before a group of Badagas during a lull in some ritual event.

On quite another level, this tale is also interesting for what it says about hospitality. The Badaga invites an exhausted Kurumba into his house and nurses him lovingly back to health. For this act of generosity his family can expect to enjoy much future prosperity. Such actions help counteract disaster and starvation, not only in an immediate sense, but also in the long run. The images of prosperity used are especially important. The teller speaks of many children under the Badaga's arm, grandchildren on his lap and great grandchildren under his widespread shawl. A similar formulaic phrase, used by bards on the plains just